

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 DHA-05 ACDA-07 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 BIB-01 /079 W
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P R 101532Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1980
INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
USMISSION GENEVA
USIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 13194

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, UR, US
SUBJECT: ANDROPOV'S SEPTEMBER 9 DZERZHINSKIY SPEECH

1. SUMMARY: ANDROPOV'S LENGTHY SEPTEMBER 9
SPEECH STRIKES US AS A HIGHLY AUTHORITATIVE,
DETAILED EXPOSITION OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP'S
CURRENT UNDERSTANDING OF "IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE",
THE "HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN", AND SOVIET "DISSIDENTS".
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OF PARTICULAR INTEREST IS ANDROPOV'S WARNING TO
"RULING CIRCLES" IN THE US THAT IF, AS THEY SAY,
THEY ARE PREPARED TO STRENGTHEN MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING
AND TRUST, THEY MUST CEASE ATTEMPTING TO "SUPERCHARGE
THE ATMOSPHERE WITH HOSTILITY". ALSO
NOTEWORTHY IS HIS STATEMENT THAT ILLEGAL REPRESSIONS
CONNECTED WITH THE "PERSONALITY CULT" (STALIN IS

NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED, BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT WHAT ANDROPOV HAS IN MIND) HAVE BEEN DECISIVELY CONDEMNED AND ERADICATED BY THE PARTY. BY SOVIET STANDARDS, TONE OF SPEECH IS STRONG BUT RELATIVELY WELL REASONED AND NOT DEMAGOGIC. SPEECH WAS CARRIED ON TELEVISION EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 9, AND DETAILED TASS ACCOUNT, WHICH APPEARS TO BE CLOSE TO FULL TEXT, WAS PRINTED IN ALL CENTRAL PAPERS AND READ ON RADIO SEPTEMBER 10. END SUMMARY.

2. AS DEPARTMENT WILL HAVE RECEIVED FULL TEXT OF TASS' LENGTHY ACCOUNT OF SPEECH, THIS CABLE GIVES EMBASSY'S PERSPECTIVE REGARDING MOST SIGNIFICANT POINTS IN ANDROPOV'S REMARKS.

3. WARNING TO US AND WEST. MOST STRIKING, GIVEN THAT SPEECH MUST HAVE CLEARED AT POLITBURO LEVEL (AND INDEED THAT BREZHNEV AND OTHER SENIOR LEADERS WERE PRESENT AS ANDROPOV DELIVERED IT), IS ANDROPOV'S WARNING THAT IF "RULING CIRCLES" IN US AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES GENUINELY WISH TO STRENGTHEN MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND TRUST, AS THEY CLAIM, THEY MUST REFRAIN FROM ATTEMPTS TO "SUPERCHARGE THE ATMOSPHERE WITH HOSTILITY". THIS, ANDROPOV STRESSES, IS AN "OBVIOUS TRUTH, AND IT IS IMPORTANT THAT IT BE UNDERSTOOD QUICKLY IN THE WEST".
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4. IN THIS CONTEXT, HE SPECIFICALLY NOTES THAT "STRENGTHENING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND TRUST IS TODAY A MAJOR CONDITION FOR THE SUCCESS OF EFFORTS TO CONSOLIDATE PEACE, LIMIT THE ARMS RACE, TO ACHIEVE DISARMAMENT AND TO MAKE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION MORE HEALTHY." HE ALSO STATES THAT SOVIET PEOPLE CANNOT BUT INTERPRET "UNCEASING EFFORTS TO INTERFERE IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS" AND "SLANDEROUS PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS" AS "EVIDENCE OF HOSTILE INTENTIONS WHICH CONFLICT WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF DETENTE AND THE SPIRIT OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS".

5. NO RETURN TO STALINISM. ALSO STRIKING, EVEN THOUGH STALIN'S NAME IS NOT MENTIONED, IS ANDROPOV'S STATEMENT THAT CERTAIN YEARS OF SOVIET HISTORY WERE CLOUDED BY "ILLEGAL REPRESSIONS, VIOLATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, OF LENINIST NORMS OF PARTY AND STATE LIFE".

-THESE VIOLATIONS, HE CONTINUES, WERE

"RELATED TO THE PERSONALITY CULT" AND CONTRADICTED
THE ESSENCE OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM; BUT
-THE CPSU "DECISIVELY CONDEMNED AND ERADICATED
SUCH VIOLATIONS, HAVING CREATED FIRM GUARANTEES
FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF SOCIALIST LEGALITY".

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USSALTTWO

6. PRESENT SOVIET UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS.
TAKEN AS A WHOLE, ANDROPOV'S SPEECH SERVES AS A
DETAILED EXPOSITION OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP'S
UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM, AS WELL
AS "IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE", THE "HUMAN RIGHTS
CAMPAIGN", AND SOVIET DISSENT. ACCORDING
TO ANDROPOV:

-WHILE "SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY" IS NOT YET
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PERFECT, IT PROCEEDS FROM THE BELIEF THAT AN
INDIVIDUAL IS GENUINELY FREE WHEN HIS ACTIVITY
IS IN THE CHANNEL OF GENERAL SOCIAL PROGRESS,
WHEN INDIVIDUAL AND PUBLIC INTERESTS ARE
UNBREAKABLY TIED TOGETHER;

- "IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE" BETWEEN "SOCIALISM
AND CAPITALISM" IS INEVITABLE BUT SHOULD BE
CLEANSED OF "COLD WAR" ATTITUDES; ONE MUST
SPEAK OF THIS BECAUSE "THE MOST REACTIONARY"
WESTERN CIRCLES CURRENTLY ARE INTENSIFYING
PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE THROUGH THE USE OF
SUCH HOSTILE INSTITUTIONS AS RADIO LIBERTY
AND RADIO FREE EUROPE;

- THE "INCREDIBLE" FUSS OVER HUMAN RIGHTS AND
DISSIDENTS STEMS FROM AN ATTACK ON THE
IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL UNITY OF SOVIET
SOCIETY AND ATTEMPTS TO SHOW THAT THE SOVIET
SYSTEM CANNOT TOLERATE INDEPENDENT THOUGHT
ON THE PART OF ITS CITIZENS;

- IN FACT, CRITICISM IS ENCOURAGED IN THE
USSR, BUT IT IS A DIFFERENT MATTER WHEN
INDIVIDUALS UNDERTAKE ANTI-SOVIET
ACTIVITIES, BREAK LAWS, SUPPLY THE WEST WITH
SLANDEROUS INFORMATION, SPREAD FALSE RUMORS,
AND ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE ANTI-SOVIET ONSLAUGHTS;

- THE EXISTENCE OF SO-CALLED "DISSIDENTS"
BECAME POSSIBLE ONLY BECAUSE "ENEMIES OF
SOCIALISM BROUGHT INTO ACTION THE WESTERN
PRESS, DIPLOMATIC AND ALSO INTELLIGENCE AND
OTHER SPECIAL SERVICES;" DISSENT HAS
BECOME SOMETHING OF A PROFESSION, RICHLY
PAID IN FOREIGN CURRENCY AND OTHER HANDOUTS,
MUCH AS IMPERIALIST SPECIAL SERVICES PAY

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THEIR AGENTS; WHEN DISSIDENTS AND OTHER
CRIMINALS VIOLATE SOVIET LAW, THEY MUST BE
BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

7. TONE AND ATMOSPHERE. ANDROPOV IS RUMORED
EVEN AMONG SOVIET DISSIDENTS, TO BE RELATIVELY
CULTURED AND INTELLIGENT. THESE QUALITIES ARE
REFLECTED IN HIS SPEECH, WHICH BY SOVIET STANDARDS

IS WELL REASONED AND NOT DEMAGOGIC, ALTHOUGH CERTAINLY STRONGLY WORDED. HIS ADDRESS WAS CARRIED ON TELEVISION THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 9 (IN FACT, IT THREW THE SUBSEQUENT EVENING TV SCHEDULE OFF BY ABOUT 30 MINUTES), AND THE DETAILED TASS ACCOUNT OF THE SPEECH WAS PRINTED IN ALL CENTRAL NEWSPAPERS AND READ ON RADIO SEPTEMBER 10.

8. IT SHOULD BE ADDED THAT ANDROPOV'S HARSH COMMENTS ABOUT US "PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE" WERE VIRTUALLY ABSENT FROM BREZHNEV'S SEPTEMBER 9 REMARKS TO CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER (SEPTEL) AND ALTOGETHER ABSENT FROM THE CHIEF JUSTICE'S SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS SHCHELOKOV. PERHAPS BECAUSE THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BREZHNEV-BURGER MEETING IS FRONT-PAGED IN THE SEPTEMBER 10 PRESS, ANDROPOV'S ADDRESS INCLUDED NO UNKIND REMARKS ABOUT US COURTS. IN A SEPARATE SEPTEMBER 10 PRAVDA ARTICLE, HOWEVER, POLITICAL COMMENTATOR KORIONOV IS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE US JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

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Message Attributes

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